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ABSTRACT

The theoretical background of the interdisciplinary Turko-Danish Fairytale Project is discussed in this paper. The paper first offers support for the working hypotheses of the Fairytale Project, which was designed to determine (1) if there are aesthetic principles that are universal and that guide the reader's experience of literary works; (2) whether these principles are built into people by their cultural, economic, and social experiences; or (3) whether these principles are totally individualistic. Then, the theory of reader response that suggests that text does not exist outside the experiences of the readers/listeners is detailed. This theory is applied to the project. An explanation is provided of why explicit statements from different schools of critical thinking are needed in the planning stage, for pilot studies, and for the final assessment. A description of each of the seven fairy tales under consideration is also presented. An explanation of a phenomenological approach to some features in the seven tales is offered and the cultural factors, the Propp functions, and the Holbeck metafunctions that apply to each are described in detail. Fairy tales in relation to the reader/listener and psychological symbols found in the tales are also discussed. (CRH)

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FAIRYTALE

An Interdisciplinary Turco-Danish Study of the Collective v. the Individual Nature of the Response to Literature

Report No. WORKING PAPER No. 1

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WORKING PAPER 1

FAIRYTALE, A PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE HYPOTHESES PUT FORWARD

Purpose

The following comments are meant as a basis for discussion of the theoretical background of the project, mostly as outlined in Reports No. 1, 3, 4, and 5. To this has been added comments from some other sources.

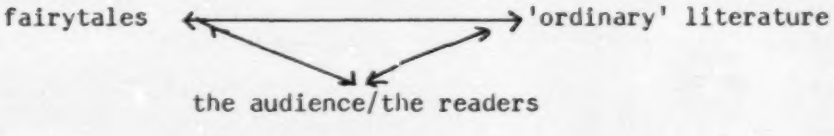
It will pinpoint places where the theoretical coverage is insufficient, and comment on where we need additional references. It should accordingly, be the object of correction, deletion, addition, and for tagging on references.

The working hypothesis

We want to determine if there are aesthetic principles which are universal and guide the readers' experiences of works of literature or whether the aesthetic principles are built into people by their cultural, economic, and social experiences, or whether these principles are totally individualistic.

We want to use the methods of reader-response research and we employ the type of literature which traditional critical research agrees demonstrates cross-cultural structural similarities, viz., fairytales.

The working hypothesis gives us three layers in readers' responses
the "universal"
the "communal"
the "individualistic".
It also gives us a triangle, as it were,viz.



whose components must be related.

The following discussion is based on an attempt to show how this is done - or where we are short of relations.

One very important point is that the study of fairytales must be tagged on to literature, i.e. that by saying something about the response to fairytales we also say something relevant to the experience of literature in general.

The universal, or cross-cultural character of the fairytales

This is the only truly aprioristic assumption we have made. Accordingly there is a need for an ever so brief summary of former and current thinking on this point. The reader will ask himself:

Why should fairytales be universal ?

Answers offered until now, if only in passing:

1. The seed is spread (3,11 + 5,2)from one place to the world.
2. Springing spontaneously from primordial needs in man (mostly in stable societies etc.)
3. A mixture of these.

How are they universal ?

1. They are transmitted orally (or rather, were).
2. By their appeal (4,1 + 5, 2)
3. There is a communal body of tales from which the individual narrator selects something (3,3)
4. There is a romantically inspired attitude that they represent an older step in the cultural development which has been preserved in the lower classes. They belong to the people as a whole (the reference to this theory is made by Holbek in Norveg, 22, 1979, pp. 209-221, and written off as erroneous).
5. People find it easy to identify with the hero (5,2 + 4,8).

I am relatively sure that there must be other theories, but the fact is that there is no unbiassed survey of these views in the reports up till now.

The fairytales we use: the method of selection, the thinking behind it, and what we know when the three stories have been selected

We have drawn up a very simplistic model(5,4), saying that a fairytale has

surface features/structure

deep/universal/primordial features/structure

Since we have not precluded the possibility in our initial hypothesis that response patterns may be totally individualistic, or only intersubjective in one given community, and since we have no inkling as to whether surface features may not be strongly directive in the response we have chosen three fairytales as outlined in 5,5-6:

Tk FT, with Tk surface features and (possibly) a TK or universal deep structure. It has been proved to appeal to a Tk audience.

Dk FT, with Dk surface etc.

A common FT.

They are now in the process of being selected from bodies of an original three stories in each group.

We shall select the one in each group which gives the most facetted response in the selective pilot study. But even so we have limited ourselves to a total of 3 fairytales out of all the FTs in the world. This means that we cannot possibly cover all aspects of FTs, nor of responses to them, nor of the literary response. Yet this must be related to literaty theory: and our options must be open: we cannot apriosistically cut out theories which we dislike, or believe are wrong: we need our readers for that.

Just in order to show the complexity of the ostensibly simple plan we have set up, I shall try to set up some indications of outcomes which we cannot rule out. The simplistic model is the one used:

If Tk and Dk FTs lead to Tk = Dk response, then we must assume that some of the many aspects of the literaty response are universal.

If TkFT leads to Tk→←Dk respnse, and DkFT to Tk= Dk response, the DkFT must have some universal features and the TkFt does not. And vice versa.

If TkFT leads to Tk→←Dk response, DkFT leads to Tk→←Dk response, and CFT also leads to Tk→←Dk response, we must have chosen the wrong stories, or have proved that communal layers are more important than universal aspects.

But there is, of course, another possibility which is that we get something like e.g. (and now I am compressing the formula)

DkFT {	surface level	leads to	Tk→ ←Dk response
	deep structure	leads to	Tk = Dk response
TkFT {	surface level	leads to	Tk = Dk response
	deep structure	leads to	Tk→ ←Dk response
CFT {	surface level	leads to	Tk = Dk response
	deep structure	leads to	Tk→ ←Dk response.

I know that the likelihood that the CFT should elicit the last type of response is small, but I hope the models show the urgent need for some explicit statements about fairytales - or literature - from different theoretical angles.

Readers in fusion with text

One basic premise for reader-response research is that texts, here, then, fairytales, do not exist outside the experiences of the readers/listeners (Bulloughs aesthetic distance as a historical dimension excepted).

In the experiment we shall then have readers and some stimulus material, viz., the fairytales and the questions. And they must be identical and presented in the same order.

The readers are defined in core groups and in special groups, as tentatively outlined in 5, 8-9.

The questions are asked about

1. Background variables of the type outlined in 5, 9-10, i.e. e.g. reading habits, preference for fairytales, age etc.

The results here can easily be correlated with one another and will give us intrinsically valuable information.

BUT it is irrelevant, at this stage, as such, to the study as a whole. It is also methodologically uninteresting, because there has been a host of minor (mostly American) studies in this area.

2. Background variables of the type briefly referred to in 4, 11-12, i.e. the readers' systems of norms, expectations, etc.

Results here can also easily be correlated with other background information. It is much more unusual to test this. And especially in so far as the theoretical, explicit statements about these norms can be related to our results, it will be most interesting. But it presupposes a better explicitation of the relevant norms, if any.

One practical comments: questions must be relatively brief and precise for very obvious practical reasons: the readers must be able to finish their readings in c. 1½ hours (5,9).

3. responses to the three fairytales. Here the theoretical statements are not well developed.

It is by correlations with background variables of the type given under 1 above that we can establish the truth/untruth of sociological/marxist and whatnot theories. And the same goes for 2. Even without theoretical underpinnings, we will get purely phenomenological information on how background variables affect experiences. BUT without the reference to theory we will - with justification - be under attack for not having paid heed to our own working hypothesis. And we do apriori take it for granted that there are differences between Turkish and Danish readers (5,4).

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Secondly, and provided the questions are identical, unambiguous and precise, we can

a. establish a "majority reading" of the fairytales. Although we add the dimension of a comparison between two countries, the result is, in itself, fairly uninteresting: it has been done a number of times by different methods.

b. establish how special groups respond to special features. In so far as these groups are established according to 1, it refers to theories which should be easy to explain; according to 2 we need the theories in an explicit form, once again.

c. possibly be able to correlate the experience of one or more aspect with others, i.e. be able to show that experiences (or rather aspects of them) have an organic relationship: despite the fact that the questions are typographically separate, they are part of the same experience.

d. provided we know - from the theories - approximately what levels we are asking questions at, it will be possible to establish connections and relationships between the experiences intersubjectively between different levels, e.g. to see how surface features correlate with deep structure.

My criticism here is, then, that in literary theories, say, marxist and structuralist theories there must be explicit statements which we can refer to. If the theoretical basis is left as it is, we very much make our own. And unless we can prove that our own theory is relevant to the universality of the literary response, we stand with results which are isolated in relation to "ordinary literature" and only fragmented in relation to theories about fairytales.

Why do we need some kind of explicit statements which are representative of different schools of critical thinking?

In the planning stage/pilot studies

1. We must have some idea whether the questions we ask are at all relevant to the main purpose of the study. Since the questions must be made - to some extent at least - from what readers actually say/experience about the stories, there is no doubt that some questions will not have any obvious relevance (they may turn out to have one later on, of course), but some of our questions must have some connection with the theories we want to put to the test.
2. We must have some idea at what levels or from what theoretical angles we are asking the questions. This does not mean that the questions should be direct quotations of critical statements or rephrased versions of them, if they turn out to be incomprehensible to readers: only that we must ask some questions which must be answered in certain, specified ways by the readers, if the theory they are connected with is correct. (Note: from the Ram investigation we know that questions which readers find irrelevant will fall flat on their faces in the extensive data collecting: the fact that we are personally disinclined to believe in any given theory is no justification for not testing it. It is obvious that if we do not ask such questions because we find them idiotic or unpalatable, we will just be accused of having shirked the issues).

For the final assessment

1. We may need some theoretical statements to find out what linkages they support/state should not exist.
2. Linkages may support or be explicable in terms of one or several theories.
3. Correlations may support some theories, i.e.(not dis)prove their universality, whereas non-correlations will weigh heavily against others.
4. We may also find that different groups of readers intersubjectively support different theories (as implied in 4,11 and 5,2 sect. 4). This would mean that different theories connect with different types of reading/personality or whatever turns out to be the crucial factor..

An old-fashioned commentary on the 7 fairytales we have at present

The purpose of the following is only to point to some aspects of the fairytales we are working with at this stage

Themes and symbols in brief

AaTh 571 ETK 613 Per (Per Smeds Whip (Dk)): The plot is based on a revelation of the social hierarchy governing the universe of the underdog, Per Smed. When the ultimate symbol of repression has been taking place for some time and is finally revealed to him (viz. that he is being cuckolded), he succeeds in punishing not only those directly involved (his wife and the steward) but also those in the highest positions of the social order in which this type of humiliation is possible. The intervention of friendly supernatural powers (an old woman), permits him to achieve a balance with the established order and obtain justice (the steward is exiled). Based on a social conflict.

AaTh 425C ETK 1350 Girl (The Girl and the Dog (Dk)): a small girl enters service where she is required to do some impossible tasks, but is helped out by a dog who is finally revealed to be a transformed prince. The story is arguably a symbolic representation of how a child, in entering service, is confronted with tasks beyond his/her ability, gradually learns to cope and finally comes to see a person of the opposite sex as his/her future life companion. At the end there is a coming to terms (with) and elevation in - society

AaTh 705 ETK 1436 Prince (The Prince and the Tiger Child) (Dk)): Untraditional (illicit ?) love with gross tones of homosexuality, leads to the birth of an almost non-human girl who is not accepted by her mother-in-law. Once she has passed the human stages of being married and giving birth to three children, she is subjected to a human and emotional ordeal, viz., being rejected as a mother and a wife. On the spot she becomes a full-fledged human being (she can talk), and reestablishes her social rights as wife and mother, having her in-law punished in the process. Justice is established, the older generation is pushed aside, but the story may arguably symbolise the process of being accepted as a human being. There are some indications of a social conflict.

AaTh 591 EB 173 Pot (The Tiny Cooking Pot (Tk)): By luck you attain food, wealth, and secutity (in marriage). It can, perhaps, be argued that the fairytale represents stages in the process of establishing yourself in society, but if so it is by externals only. There seems to be no social conflict.

AaTh 327 EB 161 Keloglan (Keloglan Goes to Wed the Ogress (Tk)): Nogoodnik accepts the challenge nobody else has undertaken, and, by means of his wits overcomes the forces of evil (?), finally to be accepted by his society. Arguably about the process of socialization, being accepted on a par with the others. The social confiict here, if any, is that you must prove your manlihood or ability to make good.

AaTh 884 EB 374 Father (Father of Six Girls (Tk)): Structurally speaking it seems to consist of two distinct stories. In the first one we see how the sagacious girl proves that girls are on a par with, if not actually much better than, boys. It illustrates the battle of wits (with different forces (the neighbour, the boy, Beyoglu)), and the repressed one getting on top, and attaining honours in society (to some extent then, a kind of parallel with Per). The story is apparently based on the explicit premise that girls are not quite as good as boys, and therefore seems to reflect on a certain hierarchy based on sex.

The second half is a poetic, symbolic representation of a marriage suit, culminating in marriage, i.e. a total subjection to the established social order.

AaTh 510B ETK1448 Pulleru (Dk): The rejection of an immoral alliance (incest) which is arguably a break with the parents, leads the protagonist to a humiliation i.e. work in lowly capacity. The prospective suitor is tried out, but proves himself to be unkind as a human being, i.e. unworthy of true blood, on several occasions and is, accordingly, rejected and thus punished. After having suffered he is finally accepted. To some extent it seems to correspond with the second half of Father. There are strong indications of social injustice (maltreatment of the servants in the humblest positions).

I do not consider this brief commentary exhaustive.

And I am probably wrong on some points.

A phenomenological approach to some features in the 7 fairytales

The following list is not exhaustive, but only indicative of some of the more obvious surface features in the stories. They overlap.

Stylistic features

The stylistic features have been commented on. The only slightly problematic one is the tekerme: the way it is described by Boratav in the summary I have received, it is a feature we also find in Dk fairytales, even though the specific expression it gets is different.

"Fairytale features"

The staples of fairytales seem to appear in all stories: the (kindly) old woman who can help (the white witch) in Per; the transformed prince in Girl; the child born by magic means (hm) in Prince. The magic pot in Pot; the ogres in Keloglan; the old woman (white witch) in Father; the flight and the dresses in Pulleru.

Chronological features

They are difficult to distinguish from social features , but arguably tell something about the epoch in which the fairytales were taken down: Per must pave the courtyard; Girl must milk (instead of using a machine), and get water to the house (instead of having it in the house); the girl in Father smokes cigarettes and sends a telegramme.

National features

The names sound alien to Turks and Danes respectively : Per, Keloglan, . Some overtones must get lost: "Smed" means "Smith", hence implies strength. Beyoglu is associated with wealth and Sagdic with a cicerone at a wedding (?).

The idea of girls finding service on their own (Girl, Pulleru) seems to be Danish; the idea of finding cutlers/jewellers close by one another Turkish - as is Turkish bath.

It seems to me that we should retain such features: it is probably impossible to do away with them even by the most conscientious editing - and we do assume they exist in the working hypothesis.

Social features

These , too, are difficult to distinguish from cultural features: In Girl, Pulleru we meet with maids offering their services on their own, to some extent making their own terms. The young prince in Pulleru behaves as a wealthy farmer's son . Per refers to enforced labour at manors ("hoveri"). Beyoglu seems to be the son of

of a wealthy merchant rather than a prince (I refer to the penultimate section) in Father. People talk in coffeehouses in Father, Keloglan.

Social factors underlie the whole plot in some stories: in Per we meet with a kind of revolt against the social hierarchy. Provided we take Girl as a symbol of a maid's desperate attempts to do difficult tasks in service, then, the ordeals encountered in work by the humble classes and the way they are suppressed by their masters (in this case the woman). In Keloglan it is a question about being accepted as somebody in society, and not being looked down upon as a nogoodnik.

Cultural factors

As far as I can see, the stories appear to be permeated with cultural features in the broadest sense of the word:

The Danish stories seem to reflect a stable, agrarian and to some extent even feudal society (feudal:Per, Prince), whereas the Turkish ones reflect on a society centred around some kind of communal life, even city life (Pot), where travelling is frequent (even though this may be sheer coincidence).

A striking feature is the attitude to women: the Danish stories permit e.g. Per's wife to go virtually unpunished, the queen to demand the children from the people in the mill-houses . In both Pot and Father the real reward consists in getting married. The latter story also takes it for granted that it is unmanly to have girls.

The character of the societies is - it seems to me - also reflected in the tasks we meet with: the ones in the Danish tales are all connected with work, mostly at farms (milking, lighting up fires, etc.), while the ones in the Turkish fairytales connect with cooperating - or opposing - the forces of nature (splitting the sea, hiding under a frog etc.).

I do not intend to press the above points further: we do not know what stories we shall end up with, but the question is to what extent do we have references to, as it were, the "cultural imprint" of the tales ? Dilek has made a very fine analysis of versions of Pulleru and the references in that one - as well as the analysis itself - might be used in this context.

The Propp functions

I am not a specialist, but I have taken over the following breakdown in Propp-functions from Holbek. They are referred to briefly but not very explicitly in 4, 13-15, so I cannot name them:

Per: 8, 9=25, 11, 12, 13, 14, 26.
9=25m , 11-14, 26.
9=25, 11-13, 14, 26,
30, 31

Girl: 1, 8
16, 18, 19.
25, 26, 31

Prince: 1, 2, 3, 8.
15, 19
8, 12, 13, 14.
23, 27, 28, 30, 31.

Pulleru: 1, 12, 13, 14.
15, 16, 19, 17.
23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31

The above functions may not be quite correct: I have only a very poor copy left.

A certain, explicit use of the Propp-functions is, as far as I can see, necessary. The problem about the Propp-functions is that although they may define the fairytales, they do not, in the present theoretical frame, have any relation with literature as such.

The Holbek metafunctions

Once again I am no specialist, and have used Bengt Holbek's own breakdowns for the Danish stories.

Per: bis III: social conflict (first task)
III: (second task)
III: (third task: the pærtegøjj)
./.: the punishment where the pærtegøjj is established.
III: [the pærtegøjj is dissolved] the social conflict leads to a reestablished marriage.

Girl Ia: [until the girl cries:] the parents' premature death is visited on the child, leading to disaster.
II: [the tasks until the girl is finished with her service:] meeting between hero and heroine.
III: the ending: the social conflict (moral?) leading to marriage.

Prince: Ia: the child is cast off from parental authority, and her father's childish behaviour is visited on her. [Until the prince rides into the wood.]
II: [she marries the prince:] meeting between hero and heroine.
I_{bis} :[the queen bears children which are removed and, after having been exiled she finds them once more:] children are prematurely made to leave parental authority, because of "childish" behaviour in both the old and the new queen .
III: [the queen returns to the castle:] the conflict with the mother-in-law is finished and she is reunited with her husband.

Pulleru: IP: [until the king falls asleep after the marriage:] the old queen's death is the negative version of the break with parental authority, the plan to thwart her father's plan to marry her the positive one.
II: [the flight and the plot until the prince gives her the ring:] the meeting between the hero and the heroine.
III: From the moment he realises who she is, until they are married: social conflict leading to marriage.

The following breakdown has been made by Dilek of the Turkish fairytales:

Pot IP: (the version is mostly positive, but the girl is beaten by her mother): the process of breaking free from paternal authority, and the process of maturation [until the pot is thrown out the third time.]

Pot (continued)

II: [the prince sees the pot and comes to the girl's house:] meeting of hero and heroine.
III: they are married.

Keloglan: This story seems to fall outside the Holbek pattern.
Ia: provided we argue that the mother = the ogress, we do have the negative version of I.
III: provided we argue that we expand it to "a happy ending" (Report 5, 3)[: Keloglan's triumphant return.]

Father: Ib:[until the girl comes to the country of Beyoglu:] the girl breaks free from parental authority as in a process of maturation.
II:[until she leaves Beyoglu:]meeting between hero and heroine.
III:[she returns:]She and her father are rewarded (this is inserted by me, cf. my comments on the structure).
(II) III: Beyoglu gets hold of her by means of the witch and the pidgeons.

The Holbek functions, however, are also short of the relation to "ordinary" literature.

It must be stressed that in the above classification, we have stuck more to Holbek's own model than the slightly rephrased one found in Report 5, 3 (bottom).

Some points of view

The following comments make out an attempt to have a look at the fairytales from different angles, and to try to relate this with some thinking about ordinary literature. The references here are very poor. The fact that I employ different angles means that some things are repeated. But I shall comment on where we stand. The survey is - I am sure - not exhaustive.

What is a fairytale ?

This is not meant as a demand that we have a definition - as far as I understand folklorists are not in agreement. But we need some point on which there is some kind of agreement or consensus and which can then be used for reference to ordinary literature. In other words: what seems (if only quantitatively) to be typical of fairytales vis-a-vis ordinary literature how much will a determination of cross-cultural similarities in responses to fairytales tell us about universal characteristics in the represponses to ordinary literature?

Fairytales

Surface

Fairytales were originally passed on orally(3)
They have only one or two protagonists (cf. 5,4)
They take place in no specific place (3,6)
There is not special reverence for "realistic laws governing life" and they often include some magic elements, enchantment, wicked or/and good forces (3)
Moral values are fluid: outwitting is fine, so is cheating, and it is alright to lie to a witch(No need to go into this one)

Lower level

Structurally speaking a fairytale consists of a series of elements, or chronological incidents which are presented in a given order (the Propp-functions, which we then need to have explicitated).
The Propp-functions hardly amount to more than a description of elements in a fairytale, and I find it difficult even to accept that they approach anything like a definition of the genre.
(The elements are, in isolation, also found in other genres, esp. short stories, myths etc.).

Lowest level

At this level we should find themes and patterns of symbols if any.

Thus Holbek's more embracing metafunctions appear to belong here. Roughly speaking he argues then that a fairytale will be a representation of

1. the premature attempt of the child to escape parental authority. The conflicte is often projected on to the parents but the punishment for their "childish" behaviour is visited on the child

b. the child's break with parental authority in a process of maturation

(Girl, Prince, Pot, Keloglan, Father, Pulleru)

meeting between hero and heroine (Girl, Prince, Pot, Father) Pulleru).

III. A social/moral/or other conflict leading to (reestablishment of) marriage (Per, Girl, Prince, Pot, Father, Pulleru)

The other themes (overlapping with the above) mentioned are

1. Finding out about the objective world (3,8-9): ?
2. growing up (3,8-9): In the widest sense this applies to Prince, Girl, Pot, Keloglan, Father, Pulleru.
3. coming to terms with the objective world (3,8-9): Per, Girl (?: if symbolic), Father(?), Pulleru (?).

Anthropologically tinged symbols of ordeals leading on to being accepted by others, initiation in a very broad sense indeed: Per, Girl, Prince, Pot (the hunger), Keloglan, Father, Pulleru.

Ordeals are then tasks, challenges, and wicked forces.

There is no coverage on this one, but it links easily with much literature.

Fairytales are concrete expressions of abstract human anxieties (3,7). With the possible exdeption of Pot this is arguably a theme in all our fairytales. Since the tales are concrete expressions, the theoretical coverage here must be considered satisfactory. Arguably these anxieties are lived out vicariously.

Fairytales in relation to the readers/listeners.

The individual reader

The reader finds it easy to identify [with the protagonist] (4,8).

The fairytale is devoid of descriptions of emotion (3,8), and accordingly readers project their own (?).

The reader admires the protagonist (4,8).

The explicit coverage from critical literature must be more exhaustive.

Universal features

A universal feature in the aesthetic response should be taste, which is partly primordial/universal, partly social/communal (4,1-4). Are the statements here no more specific ?

Fairytales have archetypal patterns (4,9): Are they identical with the basic cultural patterns ? Or are they identical with the functions ? What is the relationship? What are archetypal patterns apart from rebirth which are relevant to the fairytales and to literature (I am sure they are relevant to myths, but unlike fairytales and literature, myth is related to religion, beliefs etc.).

According to marxist theory, as very briefly mentioned 4,6, literature should mould the reader. Using some categories from Bascam covering folk narratives , they have the following functions:

1. to establish solidarity in a community by having conformity to communal norms and patterns rewarded : Prince, Keloglan, Father.
2. to teach nonliterate people social behaviour (e.g. piety, humility, etc.): vaguely all, especially Pulleru . Or facts of life as when horses are scared (e.g. Prince (that baskets can float, Father (the horse on the bridge).
3. to amuse
4. Socially accepted outlets for repression (Per, Girl, Pot ?, Father, Keloglan, Pulleru)
5. Social protest (Per, Girl, Father).

ref?

Symbolic meaning

The question about common psychological symbols is, as far as I can see, not covered explicitly in the theoretical framework. And no distinction is made between symbols and patterns. The points need further elucidation.

I suggest that in the first place some symbols exist as it were in isolation: it is tempting to see e.g. the seemingly impossible tasks in Girl as an expression of a specific experience in life made by a child entering service: you are asked to do some incomprehensible or virtually impossible tasks, and it is not until you have learnt to do so, that you are mature.

Other symbols may be obvious to readers with special personalities, no matter whether they are, in the common jargon, 'Freudian' or 'Jungian'. In Prince I find the fishes indicative of sex, and in Pullery I see the golden dress gleaning through the rags as an indication of the joys of sex in marriage (or the loss of virginity etc.). As for these symbols I see no reason for us to go into the theoretical literature: if they crop up with readers in the pilot studies they can be used in the questionnaires (in a less explicit form), because this may give us some possibilites of checking as to whether the answers to the questions permit us to establish intersubjective groups with reference to other aspects of the experience of the fairytales and literature (It almost goes without saying that when you meet with people who adhere to Jung or Freud, it is not because they are opportunists, but that they feel that these people are right).

Some symbols however, are symbols only because they are placed in a specific context (and appreciated in a special way by some readers) and with these I find it harder to disregard theories behind them. The dress - or rent in it - in Pullery could arguably at a higher level stand for the loss of innocence, a process started at court, or the intiation to married life.

Is there any reference to whole stories as symbols of specific things, e.g. getting married etc. or should this be left to our phenomenological data collecting ? Or do we just argue (fair enough) that symbols at this level are "themes".

And what is the reference of archetypal patterns (4, 9) to this ?

Fairytales as escapist literature

The point seems to call for some references.

It can be argued that

they are escapist in so far as wishes are fulfilled

they are escapist in terms of the readers' geographical environment and biological limitations.

Life style and norms

The social order (as is discussed by Dišek in Pulleru) is reflected on the surface. Some features:

Coffeehouses (Keloglan, Father), putting beds aside in the daytime(Father), entering service (Girl, Pulleru).

Social non-acceptance of certain positions is shown , e.g. being despised as a smallholder (Per), as a lower class individual (Prince), as a nogoodnik (Keloglan), as a girl (Father). All get out tops.

Overriding the norms is rewarded in Per (punishing even the lord), Girl (cutting off the benefactor's head), Keloglan (lying and cheating), Father (having a girl act on a par with a boy).

I notice it has been suggested by Jack Zipes (ref.) that the deepest layers and underlying themes reflect a 'social order. What does this mean: does it correspond with Holbek's contention that fairytales are found only in societies with social stratification ? And how does this relate to literature in general - (I think this is a point where more explicit presentations of marxist theories may be in order).

The fairytales from the point of view of the hero

This is a different approach to the question of identification.

The hero is

alone, and knows what (s)he wants (3,8-9)

often passive receiving advice from others with whom they have no organic (natural) relationship (3,8)

divorced from the social environment (4,8)

overcoming tasks, challenges on the way to a happy outcome, ie. undergoing a process of socialization (3,8).

This applies to all the fairytales. I have disregarded the point that all full-fledged fairytales should have both a hero and a heroine (5,5).

The heroes' concerns are

growing up (Girl, Pot ?, Keloglan, Father, Pulleru (3,8)).

learning to accept difficult challenges/tasks (3,8) (Girl (by means of magic), Per (magic), Prince (luck), Pot (luck), Keloglan (wit), Father (wit and magic), Pulleru (wit and magic)).

pushing aside the older generation, coming into its own (Prince, Pot, Keloglan, Father, Pulleru) - in a very broad sense.

Fairytales and their relation to the individual life

Having written all the above, I feel like summing up as follows, but there are few explicit statements to these points. They are actually the ones which it is most easy to relate to ordinary literature.

The isolated hero = a symbol of alienation (3,8+9)

Concrete expressions of anxieties (3,7 + 4,9 + 5,2).

Wishes materialised (3,9) = a symbol of hopes of security in life.

Fears materialised = possibly the same as anxieties ?

The happy outcome = the final proof that the process of socialization is over.

Generalised themes

Fairytales attempt to establish equality, justice and hope (Tolkien, ref?)

Fairytales harbour (unfulfilled) wishes in a figurative form and project the possibility for their fulfilment in various ways.

Stories deal with individual concerns connected with the attainment of an acceptable and non-humiliated position in some established order.

(I do not know if I have read or made up the last two ones).

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From: Contes de Turquie

I LES "TEKERLEME"

Le mot *tekerleme*, qui s'apparente à *tekerlek* « roue », désigne un « roulement » de paroles, une succession de phrases fantaisistes. C'est un élément fréquent de la littérature orale turque. Il n'a généralement pas de thème central. Il s'agit d'images et de réflexions soumises à un rythme poétique, avec rimes et allitérations. Il en résulte des idées contradictoires, des situations extravagantes, des développements cocasses, l'évocation d'actes exagérés voire démesurés. L'auteur du discours laisse libre cours à son imagination. D'ailleurs le *tekerleme* n'est-il pas fait pour surprendre et étonner l'auditoire ? En même temps, il amuse et charme par son caractère insolite et irréel, parfois mensonger. C'est une succession de récits décousus, en prose simple, ou rythmée, avec parfois des passages versifiés.

Si certains *tekerleme* sont des remaniements, par des usagers successifs, de textes plus anciens, il n'en reste pas moins que la plupart d'entre eux proviennent de créations plus récentes, faites en milieu populaire. Certaines de ces formulettes sont même l'œuvre de poètes connus. Dans d'autres, il est aisé, d'après le contexte, de dater et situer l'action.

Le *tekerleme* appartient plus particulièrement au folklore enfantin et regroupe les chansonnettes, formulettes et clichés verbaux que les enfants déclament lors des jeux, cérémonies, fêtes... Mais on peut le rencontrer aussi dans le folklore des adultes : conte merveilleux ou réaliste, *hikâye* (récit romanesque de longue durée), *destan* (épopée) humoristique, poésie des *âshik* (chanteurs-conteurs du type des ménestrels médiévaux), chanson populaire, théâtre populaire de Karagöz et d'Orta-Oyunu, discours cocasses...

Dans le conte populaire, le « *tekerleme* » (1) se présente comme une suite de formules courtes et de clichés, alternant souvent avec des discours en prose, où domine l'emploi de la première personne, le conteur étant le héros de l'aventure. Celui-ci, en général, ne dit jamais un « *tekerleme* » intégral, comme on en donne ici les textes,

(1) Les « *tekerleme* » présentés ici sont extraits de *Zaman zaman içinde* (Istanbul, Remzi kitabevi, 1958, in-8°, 224 p.). Pour les sources, cf. p. 215-217 et p. 218-219.

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mais il en choisit des bribes. Ceux que vous trouvez dans ces pages sont des « reconstitutions » d'après divers fragments. Certains conteurs, toutefois, amusent leur auditoire en racontant un « *tekerleme* » entier, de ceux, plus étendus, tels les nos 14, 15 et 16.

Les formules initiales, variées, avertissent l'auditeur et le font entrer dans le monde du merveilleux. Les plus usuelles sont :

— *Zaman zaman içinde*... Quand le temps était dans le temps...
— *Evvel zaman içinde*... Dans des temps anciens...
— *Ali dost Veli dost*... Ali l'ami Veli l'ami...
— *Dinleyin hikâyeti*... Ecoutez l'histoire...
— *Masal, masal*... Conte, conte...

Les formules médianes, moins nombreuses, interviennent dans des contes ayant une certaine ampleur et une complexité d'action, pour détendre l'auditoire. C'est le cas de :

— *Manisa'dan Tire'den*... Par Manisa par Tiré...
— *Derelerden sel gibi*... Par les vallées comme le torrent...
— *Konarak geçerek*... En s'arrêtant puis repartant...
— *Az gittik uz gittik*... Nous sommes allés peu nous sommes allés encore...
— *Igneyi diktim*... J'ai planté l'aiguille...

Les formules finales, plus rares, sont une conclusion commode à un récit qui resterait en suspens. Ainsi :

— *Yediler içtiler*... Ils ont mangé ils ont bu.
— *Ben de orada idim*... Moi aussi j'étais là-bas...

1 quand le temps était dans le temps...

Quand le temps était dans le temps
Quand le crible était dans la paille
Quand les chameaux jouaient à la balle
Dans le vieux hammam
Le patron du hammam n'avait pas de gobelet
Le hammam n'avait pas de coupole
J'y ai vu une femme
Qui n'a pas de milieu à son pagne
Un lévrier se promène au marché
A son cou il n'a pas de collier
J'ai dit au fabricant de collier :
« Veux-tu faire un collier ?
Veux-tu quelques sous empocher ? »
Il a dit : « D'accord, d'accord
Je veux bien le faire
Je veux bien aussi empocher... »

SUMMARY:

The aim of this paper is to trace the origins of some of the tacit assumptions that are common to most folkloristic studies. An example is used to illustrate what "tacit assumptions" are. If we say that "The sky is blue", we assume that the listener will 1) understand our language, 2) is able to see, 3) knows what is meant by "sky", 4) agrees to our definition of "blue", 5) understands in which sense "is" should be taken. The example is simple and refers to the physical world. It is much more complicated to bring out the tacit assumpions behind such statements as *Das Märchen ist poetischer, die Sage historischer* (from the introduction to J. & W. Grimm: *Deutsche Sagen,* 1816). This statement is discussed in the following.

The antithesis poetic:,:historical implies some kind of scale with intermediate positions; the statement says that folktales tend towards the more poetiç side, and popular legends toward the more historical side. The context indicates that the legends reflect historical reality, however distorted, which implies, wrongly, that folktales are more unreal; this attitude was prevalent in folkloristic scholarship right up to Lutz Röhrich's *Märchen und Wirklichkeit* (1956). Another implication of the statement is that it is possible to speak of *the* folktale and *the* legend as if they constituted generic entities. This viewpoint is reflected in countless studies right down until our own time; a case in point is the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. If all kinds of testimonies as to the age and dissemination of folktales are considered together, we get the impression of a huge tradition. The actual distribution of this tradition in the 19th century led the folklorists to assume that it was crumbling, and that they were saving the last remnants. A close scrutiny of the matter shows, however, that there never was such a thing as *the* folktale. Many different genres have existed, each with its own pattern of distribution and history; but the concept of *the* folktale tallied with another tacit assumption of the early folklorists, that of devolution.

The discussion of these concepts leads to that of the *folk*, conceived af as an ideal unity. The *folk* told folktales, sang folksongs, played folk music, were dressed in folk costumes, observed folk customs, shared folk beliefs, and lived in beautiful old farmhouses. This is an illusion, at least as far as Danish material is concerned. It appears that the traditional arts of narrating, singing, and playing folk instruments belonged primarily to the rural proletariat, whereas the class of farmers lived in the farmhouses, were dressed in folk costumes on festival occasions, and celebrated spectacular weddings, etc. The *folk* is an idealistic construct without any regard for the marked class distinctions that existed in traditional rural communities. My own study of fairy tales has shown that individual preferences in the composition of repertoires were far more marked than the generalizing concepts of *folk* and *narrator* would lead us to believe. But those concepts were thought of as hardly individualized, governed by superorganic laws of various kinds.

The hypothesis is then advanced that this view of traditional culture reflects the prejudices of our own class. There are many indications that folklorists have generally been members of the bourgeoisie (as far as I know, no investigation of the matter exists). It is shown that the bourgeoisie of the 19th century coupled its fight for supremacy against *l'ancien régime* with national strivings in which the rural population was needed, and that the study of folklore came to serve a specific historical purpose in this fight. The bourgeoisie *needed* an ancient, resident, unified folk culture to underpin its national claims; at the same time, however, it also needed to define itself as the leading force of the national revival. When the fight was over, and the orientation of the bourgeoisie bacame more international, the goals and perspectives of folkloristics also became more international, and the active role of the *folk* was played down, in favour of superorganic theories (concerning the process of tradition, the deep psychology of creativity, the epic and structural forms, etc.) to which the *folk* appeared as a mass of little differentiated individuals. In our time, the strategy of the bourgeoisie has been taken over by leftist intellectuals who again try to use traditional culture as a weapon against the establishment.

The class character of modern folklorists is not nearly as clear and definite as that of our predecessors. This means that we are less willing than they were to accept such tacit assumptions as those mentioned above, and that we have become more actuely aware of the uncertainty of our ideological foundations. This, to my mind, explains why we have become more interested in theories and methods than ever before. To become fruitful, our discussions of these matters should include an increased awareness of our own social position today.

Bengt Holbek.